

GOVERNMENTS

AND

The Revolutionary Spirit

BY

WILLIAM ARTHUR STRONGMAN, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

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And holier than thou—and age, and wisdom,
And holiness have peremptory claims,
And will be listened to."

—OLD PLAY.

"When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice : but when the wicked beareth rule,
the people mourn."—PROVERBS xxix. 2.

TORONTO :

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PREFACE.

THIS short dissertation attempts to avoid the dryness of a summary, while it aims to deal with a long space of time. All of its periods or cognate circumstances may not be noted, but it is hoped sufficient to afford illustrative matter, both in relation to the regal power, and the spirit of revolutionary operations. It will be also noted that the authorities quoted are unimpeachable.

Like a traveller journeying through a country between a chain of ancient, historic cities, on the one hand, and those of modern structure and habiliments, on the other, we have found our pathway to lie not only between the ancient and modern forms of patriotism, but between the struggles of royalty, and the disintegrating forces of the people in their kindred relationships and results. It is hoped that the traveller had an adequate conception of the views he beheld; and that he was also accurate in describing them. This, at least, as far as a layman is concerned.

No palliative motives are ascribed for the exhibition of tyrannical power, or manifestations of revolutionary agencies, merely considered as such—both alike come under condemnation. The golden *media* are good government and obedient citizenship.

It is to be noted, also, that much that seemed disadvantageous to nations and men have been wisely overruled for the enrichment of succeeding generations. Thus, conclusions of great value have already been reached, and real progress has been made, if not all the progress we could desire. The factors directly contributive to this inheritance have been numerous, and, hence, the possessions are enlarged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| INTRODUCTION | xi. |
| <i>Civil Liberty and Equal Rights:</i> | |
| 1. The study of man in human society. | |
| 2. In this position he is hedged in by metes and bounds. | |
| 3. Simplicity of Anglo-Saxon social forms. | |
| CHAPTER I. | |
| THE STATE | 13 |
| 1. <i>The Sources of the State:</i> | |
| 1. The five theories of its source. | |
| 2. Mulford's theory. | |
| 3. The true theory. | |
| 4. The evils avoided by this theory. | |
| 2. <i>The Functions of the State:</i> | |
| 1. Exemplified in its salutary laws. | |
| 2. Also by its civil and criminal procedure. | |
| 3. <i>The Functions of the State Carried Out:</i> | |
| 1. Through various instrumentalities. | |
| 2. The purposes of these. | |
| CHAPTER II. | |
| GOVERNMENT | 16 |
| 1. <i>The Derivation of Government:</i> | |
| 1. From the sovereign power of the State. | |
| 2. So recognized by ancient and modern writers. | |
| 2. <i>Government in Relation to Law and Society:</i> | |
| 1. The three laws described by Blackstone. | |
| 2. The origin of society. | |
| 3. <i>The Legitimacy of Government:</i> | |
| 1. The underlying principles. | |
| 2. Nations grow by the development of these principles. | |
| 3. Spencer's principle. | |
| 4. <i>The Three Forms of Government:</i> | |
| 1. The monarchical, aristocratic, and popular. | |
| 2. National examples. | |
| 5. <i>The Causes that have Shaped these Forms of Government:</i> | |
| 1. The agencies at work. | |
| 2. How these forms have been shaped. | |
| 3. National examples. | |
| 6. <i>Abnormal Conditions of Government:</i> | |
| 1. Russian despotism. | |
| 2. Author's views: Kennan and M. Taski. | |

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER III.

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AS APPLIED TO THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT. | 20 |
| 1. <i>Various Views of the Subject.</i> | |
| 2. <i>Differences as to the Ancient and Modern Meanings of Patriotism.</i> | |
| 3. <i>Manifestations of the Revolutionary Spirit :</i> | |
| <i>a. In ancient times.</i> | |
| <i>b. In modern times.</i> | |
| 4. <i>Canadian Revolutionary Periods :</i> | |
| 1. The Mackenzie rebellion. | |
| 2. The rebellion under Riel. | |
| 3. The case of Riel. | |

CHAPTER IV.

| | |
|---|----|
| THE RESTRAINTS THAT SHOULD BE IMPOSED UPON ITS DISPLAY | 26 |
| 1. <i>The Revolutionary Spirit must have its Root in Desired Reformation.</i> | |
| 2. <i>The Revolutionist must be Actuated :</i> | |
| 1. By humane measures. | |
| 2. Must use extensive caution. | |
| 3. Possess the highest wisdom. | |
| 4. Must exert pious and moral measures. | |
| 3. <i>The Legitimate Means of Superseding Bad Rulers :</i> | |
| 1. Not by assassination, nor mobocracy. | |
| 2. By arming an intellect against a sceptre. | |
| 4. <i>Results of these Means.</i> | |

CHAPTER V.

| | |
|--|----|
| THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND LAW THAT RENDERS THE MANIFESTATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT NEGATORY | 28 |
| 1. <i>No Perfect nor Utopian Model Aimed At.</i> | |
| 2. <i>The Subject possesses Untrammelled Freedom.</i> | |
| 3. <i>Is Represented in the Different Chambers of his Nation.</i> | |
| 4. <i>Is Freed from undue Oversight with Respect to Unimportant Matters.</i> | |
| 5. <i>Has Facilities for Acquisitions with Respect to Popular and Higher Education.</i> | |
| 6. <i>Is not Oppressed by Unjust Taxation.</i> | |
| 7. <i>When Grievances Arise, has Ample Means of Redress.</i> | |
| 8. <i>Abnormal Resolutions of Society, even under these Considerations.</i> | |
| 9. <i>What may be Expected in a State, when the Primordial Rights of Man are Accorded.</i> | |
| 10. <i>Results which have Followed States wherein these have been Accorded Evidenced :</i> | |
| 1. In the case of England. | |
| 2. In the case of the United States. | |
| 3. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon race generally. | |

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

IDEALISTIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT PROPOSED BY ULTRA-REVOLUTIONISTS. 31

1. *Nihilism* :

1. Its theory—a return to chaos.
2. It utters no proclamation of God.
3. It is characterized by an entire absence of fellow-feeling.
4. The promise of vigorous growth only found in harmonious effort.
5. What shall be done with the present order of things ?
6. The evolution of a socialistic cosmos.
7. Russian Nihilists.
8. Prince Krapotkine.

2. *Communism* :

1. Its theory—the destruction of individual rights and privileges.
2. Industry, domestic purity, etc., shall claim no reward from this destruction.
3. Communists at Paris.

3. *Anarchism* :

1. Anarchists in the United States.
2. Chicago Anarchists.
3. The origin of American anarchism.
4. Vindication of German immigrants generally.

4. *Socialism* :

1. Its theory—greater equality, etc.
2. The object of modern Socialists.
3. The presages of Socialism.
4. The reasons of Socialism for commercial depression and stagnation.
5. The tone of modern socialists. “*Vril!*”
6. What is to be the new *Régime*, and the economical laws lying at its basis ?
 - a. Its functions.
 - b. Its functionaries.
 - c. The remuneration of the same.
 - d. The civil service.
 - e. Corporations, how controlled.
 - f. Loans and interest.
 - g. Inheritance vetoed.
 - h. Domestic service.
 - i. Laws with respect to morality.
 - j. Hypothetical personal and State religion.
 - k. Woolsey's opinion.
 - l. Opinions of Schaeffle and Leclaire.

5. *General Review of the Main Ideas Enunciated by these Systems* :

1. Reasons why they are characterized as erroneous.
2. Historical disproofs.

6. *Shadings of Relationships with Respect to the Revolutionary Spirit* :

1. Some European Republicans.
2. Strikes and lock-outs.
3. The milder revolt against the tyranny of things.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VII.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| THE CLAIMS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT ARE, UNDER CERTAIN RELATIONSHIPS, TO BE VINDICATED | 40 |
| 1. <i>Obedience to Law is Proclaimed by Sacred and Profane Writers.</i> | |
| 2. <i>Patriotism and Defence of one's Country to be Commended.</i> | |
| 3. <i>Without Obedience to Legitimate Commands a Nation's Forces are rendered Nugatory.</i> | |
| 4. <i>The Subject, under Certain Conditions, is not Obligated to yield Absolute Obedience.</i> | |
| 5. <i>Under what Circumstances Laws may be Disobeyed or Resisted.</i> | |
| 6. <i>Historical Application of the Subject.</i> | |
| 7. <i>The Theory of "The Divine Right" and its concomitants.</i> | |
| 8. <i>Has the Bible Taught the Impiety of Resistance, under all Cases?</i> | |
| 9. <i>When Revolutions are Justifiable.</i> | |
| 10. <i>Historical Corroborations of this Principle.</i> | |

CHAPTER VIII.

| | |
|--|----|
| A BRIEF RESUME OF THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT | 45 |
| 1. <i>As Applied to National and Political Advancement :</i> | |
| 1. The Plebeians | |
| 2. The English Revolution. | |
| 3. The Rise of the Dutch Republic. | |
| 4. The American colonies. | |
| 5. The French Revolution. | |
| 6. Later Greek struggles. | |
| 7. General <i>résumé</i> of the subject. | |
| 2. <i>As Evidenced in Religious Reformations :</i> | |
| 1. The Albigenses and the Vaudois. | |
| 2. The Culdees and the Lollards. | |
| 3. The Lutheran Reformation. | |
| 4. The Puritanic and Non-Conformist agitations. | |
| 5. Representative men under this head. | |
| 6. General <i>résumé</i> of the subject. | |
| 3. <i>As Evidenced in Literature :</i> | |
| 1. The New Testament doctrines. | |
| 2. Hooker's ecclesiastical polity. | |
| 3. Authors under the ban of the " <i>Index Expurgatorius.</i> " | |
| 4. Luther's <i>Theses</i> and German Bible. | |
| 5. Wycliffe's translation of the Bible. | |
| 6. The English Bible. | |
| 7. The Pilgrim's Progress. | |
| 8. Wesley's Sermons. | |
| 9. Uncle Tom's Cabin. | |
| 4. <i>As Evidenced in Scientific Tendencies :</i> | |
| 1. Galileo. | |
| 2. Guttenburg. | |
| 3. Caxton. | |
| 4. Representative names continued : Columbus, Newton, Stephenson, Watts, Franklin, Livingstone, Stanley, Emin Bey. | |

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IX.

| | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| CONCLUSION : OUR INHERITANCE. | 51 |

1. *The Tendencies of the Nineteenth Century Civilization :*

1. The equalization of man.
2. To bring men closer together.
3. The preaching of the Gospel.
4. The power of the cross.
5. The influences of the cross.
6. The purposes of God.

2. *The Language of the Christian Philanthropist, Statesman, Citizen.*



INTRODUCTION.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND EQUAL RIGHTS.

1. The study of man as he exists in human society must be conducted upon entirely different principles than those in which he is treated by theology, or economics, or natural history. Here, he is no longer a moral agent, or an economic force, or a bimanous mammal. All the rules that could be derived from the study of man in those aspects might be summed up, but would wholly fail to give an adequate conception of him as a member of society.

2. In this position he is hedged in by metes and bounds; he is conditioned by limitations of which he is not cognizant of anything in his other aspects. He may not be a trespasser upon the property of another, nor may he burn his own buildings which his hands have erected, and money paid for. He may not place his enemy under lock and key in his own dungeon; nor may he accelerate the speed of his horses over a bridge faster than that of a walk. He may not dispatch letters of a threatening character to another; nor is he allowed to offer money to his neighbor to influence his vote in any way whatever. He may not practise in law without society, through its accredited agents, grants its permission; nor may he purchase drugs at retail unless he does so through its duly qualified chemists.

On every side of the citizen, then, there are restrictions, and the greater part of his education pertains to the mastery of their exact nature; and in realizing the attendant advantages which more than render them salutary. When he has understood their nature and extent, he is cognizant of the residue of his freedom of action, which compose his civil liberty.

INTRODUCTION.

3. Up to the present, the Anglo-Saxon branch of the human family has been generally fortunate in the simplicity of the social forms to which it has been able to conform itself. Save some exceptions, there has been a peculiar self-restraint in the blood of the people, which has led individual citizens to be chary of asserting the complete measure of their civil liberty; so that society has found it needful to proclaim and enforce only certain definite and well-known restrictions. Such is the pleasing state of affairs, then, that it seems as if the mould which the founders of British customs and laws have provided, would be able to fashion into symmetry the blood of all the nations that be upon the face of the earth; and that civil restrictions would be light, and civil liberty proportionately large and munificent.



GOVERNMENTS

AND

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE.

1. The authority of the State has been referred to the Divine will ; to the nature of man ; to a social compact ; to the immediate assent of the individual, and to an inherent, organic growth belonging to itself.

(1) Literature, pointing to the first theory, is furnished by writers like Paley and Butler. The popes of the middle ages, by reason of this doctrine, claimed, as vicegerents of God, supremacy over king and emperor. This service was also rendered in the civil wars which preceded the Revolution in England. With respect to the second theory, Aristotle and Grotius give us additive testimony. Grotius assumes the tacit assent of the individual to the government of the State as its basis. This tacit consent, regarded as the concurrent action of all, evolves itself into the social compact of Puffendorf, Locke, Bacon and Jefferson. This theory resulted in an unrestrained principle, and was evidenced in the French Revolution.

Maine, speaking of Rousseau, says : " It was the first attempt to re-erect the edifice of human belief, after the purely iconoclastic efforts commenced by Bayle, and in part by our own Locke, and consummated by Voltaire." Bascom says : * " The theory of a social compact fully developed leads us to the doctrine of Spencer, that the authority of the State is derived from the immediate consent of the subject. But this notion, if pushed, leads in turn to practical anarchy." †

* Ancient Law, chap. iv., p. 84. † Ethics, part 2, chap. vii., p. 217.

Regarding the fourth theory, Bascom says: "The theory of individual consent, as the foundation of civil government, logically reaches this result; it thereby reduces itself to a *reductio ad absurdum*."* Bascom, Maine, Lieber, Amos, and others, give us literature as to the last theory.

(2) The principle of the fourth theory is advocated by E. Mulford, in "The Nation." This writer hypothecates and sustains the following propositions: "The nation has its foundations laid in the nature of man. The nation is a relationship. The nation is a continuity. The nation is an organism. The nation is a conscious organism. The nation is a moral organism. The nation is a moral personality." The writer takes his outset in the sober realms of Truth, but rises by quick gradations into the intoxication of a bold and flighty figure.

(3) Regarding the last theory, and the true origin of the State, Bascom says: "The first well-defined organization among men is that of the family. Though a vague sense of right, expressing itself mainly as custom, comes feebly in from the beginning to preside over its formation, earlier results are due almost wholly to natural affections, narrow sympathies, and restricted interests. Later results depend, and increasingly depend, on customs, into whose formation some preception of duty has entered, as well as those instinctive tendencies." †

(4) This view will coincide with the due avoidance of evils, which result in either uncontrollable personal choice preventing its initial growth out of animalism; or in the undue excess of power, which thrusts humanity back into animalism again. The first tendency is developed in barbarism, the resultant being an increased number of small groups without contribution. The second tendency may be termed imperialism, and by this is implied the destruction of independent groups, but an intense unity of contribution.

2. The functions of the State are evidenced:

(1) In its salutary laws with respect to the following subjects: The family, and the requisites in a law of marriage. The legal and political aspects of divorce. The relative claims

* Ethics, part 2, chap. vii., p. 219.

† *Ibid*, part 2, chap. vii., p. 220.

of men and women. The law in relation to religious bodies, and those which affect Church and State.

The nature and policy of endowments, and modes of providing against abuses attending them. The theory of trusts and trustees. The laws that deal specifically with ownership and property. The laws affecting copyright. The form and evidences of contracts.

(2) In the rules and definite processes which deal with civil and criminal law and procedure; and to law and morality, in the personal and international meanings of the terms.

3. The functions of the State are carried out through the means of various instrumentalities.

(1) Some of these means assume the form of organized municipal associations; some, the form of educational, scientific, or artistic corporations; others, by appeals to the antique and modern historical ideas, for the purpose of representing the nation as it was in the past; and with a view to its continuity in the present and future meanings of the term; and, lastly and happily, these which are the fewest employed, that take the form of direct compulsion through the direct agency of law.

(2) The purposes of these means are indicated by the following statement: "Thus, the individual man is placed, as it were, between two competing, though on the whole, harmonious streams of force—the law which supports the State, and the groups of which the State consists, pressing upon him on one side; and the direct influence of the State itself operating partly through law, pressing upon him on the other. In this way it happens that every person's rights and duties are of a two-fold nature. Some of them lying in a narrow circuit, and only connecting with his fellows in the immediate neighborhood; others connecting him with the State itself, in all its aggregate power and sublimity." *

* Amos, Science of Law, chap. ii., p. 140.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT.

1. The derivation of government should be next considered :

(1) Government derives its authentication from the sovereign power of the State. Its authority, constitution, privileges, claim legitimacy alone from this source. Its normal *desiderata* of operative efficiency are evidenced in the protection of natural and jural rights, considered both individually and collectively.

(2) The ancients, as the moderns, recognized the legitimate authority of the State. Herodotus states that the monarchy of Deioeces among the Medians had its origin out of the voice of the people.* Aristotle says that the regal power has been founded by the will of the people.† Plato acquiesced in the opinion of Aristotle. Polybius maintains that governments originated from the free will of the people; and that it subsists more by public opinion than by coercion or fear. The modern writers, mainly, sustain the sovereign power of the State.

2. With regard to the relationship which government holds to law and society, we have the following views :

(1) Blackstone describes man as being under three laws; the law of nature, the law of revelation, and the law of nations—the latter, however, resulting from the separate states that have been constituted by the mutual consent of their constituent members.‡ Lieber says: “Law is the direct or indirect, explicit or implied, real or supposed, expression of the will of society, constituted into a State.”§

(2) Society, then, has its origin in the inherent, legitimate power and being with which it is endowed. It owes not its existence to sufferance, nor to any institution superior to, or separate from, itself. The primary object, then, of government, as of its laws, is the protection of individual rights, and the conservation of society, which is the aggregation of those indi-

* Herodotus, I. 96.

‡ Blackstone, Com. Vol. I., p. 43.

† Aristotle, Politics.

§ Lieber, Pol. Eth., Vol. I., p. 101.

vidual rights, jurally and nationally considered. Blackstone acknowledges, though in a disguised form, the sovereignty of society.* Lieber states that "sovereignty derives its power from no previous, or superior one, but is the source of all vested power." †

3. The question may now be asked: What are the underlying and dominant principles which, in every distinctive phase of development, determine the legitimacy of government? As the "Star of Empire," rising in Asia has moved westward through Europe, and across the Atlantic to America, empire itself has been wondrously changed. What law has produced this change? In what way has the absolute power of Asiatic *régimes* resulted in the legitimacy of European monarchies, and the liberty of Republican America? In this way: Government and law, their principles and practices, have come to be acknowledged as claiming legitimacy from the authorization and authentication engendered by the dominant and self-centred power of society.

(1) The underlying principles which determine the legitimacy of government are as follows: (a) When it exists in the furtherance of public liberty; ‡§ (b) When it affords the most exalted means of civilization that it has the power to bestow; (c) When its legislative and executive enactments, as far as practicable, are under the control and administration of its citizens; (d) When it is able to conserve to its citizens rights as broad and equal as possible; (e) When the State shall rest for its support and maintenance of its regal power, as directly as possible, upon the whole constituency.

(2) By the development of those principles nations have continued to grow. "The stages of progress are as legitimate as the ends pursued; and all alike are judged in their relation to growth. Government is not made moral, any more than it is made rational, by convulsion, but by an evolution." ¶

* Blackstone, Com. Vol. I., p. 245.

† Lieber, Pol. Eth., Vol. I., p. 217.

‡ Hickok's Moral Science, p. 174.

§ Sedgwick's Social Statics, p. 267.

¶ Bascom, Ethics, p. 230.

(3) Spencer's principle that "every man has freedom to do all he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of every other man," is idealistic and practically misleading. "There is an impersonality about law, which is expressed in one word, justice. That action is just which contemplates alone the civil exigency—the law which expresses and protects the civil interest, and has no respect to persons. A personified liberty must be supported by a personified justice; in her right hand a balance, blind to persons, yet quick in the insight of principles—an arbitrator between men in the conflict of rights."*

4. With regard to the forms of government, three elements are ready to assert their separate strength in the state: Individuals, classes and people.

(1) In this way have the monarchical, aristocratic and popular governments received consolidation and perpetuity. The distinction between these forms is thus briefly outlined: A monarchical form of government is one in which power is vested in a supreme ruler. An aristocracy is a government administered by a certain class of citizens, whilst all other citizens are rigorously excluded. And a popular government is one administered by the entire body of male citizens, which, in an ideal form, include all adult normal inhabitants.

(2) England furnishes the best example of a mixed monarchy. "A most fortunate type of a mixed, yet free, government is that of England. Liberty, as a high embryonic life, without removing the forms of monarchical or aristocratic institutions, has absorbed their substance, and redirected their strength to its own use. The world does not offer so continuous and so fortunate a growth of free institutions, with so little violence, as in England. The movement, slowly progressive, since the Norman Conquest, has been rapidly accelerated in recent times."† Aristocracies have been evidenced in the governments of Athens and Greece, with four-fifths of its population slaves, while they retained as much of the oligarchical as of the democratical spirit. Popular government, in its best form, is seen

* Bascom, *Ethics*, p. 237.

† *Ibid.*, p. 243.

in the United States. Switzerland has sustained for a long time, free institutions, in the heart of monarchical Europe. This form may appear in either the Democratic or the Republican system. In the one, the people act directly; in the other, through representatives. The two extremes of government are the monarchical and the popular.

5. Next, there are the causes which have shaped these forms of government.

(1) The two agencies at work in the development of a State are, the historic forces, and the purposes of the people. In some States, the first have the ascendancy; in others, the second. In France, the two are in concentrated and vigorous conflict. The moral history of a State lies in the balance of these two agencies;

(2) The form of government will be shaped by: (*a*) The geographical situation of the nation; (*b*) Its military and naval power; (*c*) The temper which leads in the controlment of its powers; (*d*) The national characteristics with which it is endowed; (*e*) Its historic being, including the commercial, educational and religious tendencies.

(3) England owes its situation to national characteristics, to Christianity, and the Bible; and to that constant development which has allowed the regard for law to become rightfulness, general and deep-seated. The United States owe much to situation, a new continent, a virgin soil, a diversified people. France, on the other hand, has had inflicted upon her the frequency and violence of her revolutionary paroxysms, and the social forces brought in their train. The English revolutions have been a series of distinct steps, each made without violence. This was organic development. The French Revolutions shook off social burdens with violence. Delay could not have effected that removal. This was a violent, yet remedial disease. The Revolution of 1794 was caused by the taint of national leprosy; that of 1848 by contempt; and that of 1870, by disgust.

6. The abnormal conditions of government are evidenced in the despotic governments of ancient and modern times.

(1) The semi-despotic *régime* of Russia, is an instance of these

conditions at the present moment. They are exemplified in the harsh measures employed with respect to Poland; the partition of its territory; extreme punishment for political offences; in the embargo put upon free speech through her whole realm; in the extreme *surveillance* of political thought; in the unprogressive censorship of the press and telegraphic despatches; in the hurried and unauthenticated convictions and executions; in the *maximum* of punishment for the *minimum* of crime; in the rigors of Siberian exile, with its attendant consequences.

(2) Mr. G. Kennan, in *The Century Magazine*, April, 1888, gives the reasons why emigration from Russia is not increasing, although the intolerable oppression of almost all classes is continued. He emphasises the penalties inflicted upon either emigrating, or persuading others to emigrate, without the permission of the government. Surprise can hardly be made that Socialism and Nihilism are developing under these and kindred conditions; or, at the sombre views of Russian life, given by those who are best acquainted with its innermost workings. M. Taski, in *The Contemporary Review*, says: "To-day educated people suddenly abandon the views they have adopted; and betake themselves enthusiastically to revolutionary conspiracies. Later on, comes the hour of Slavophile Chauvinism, of the abstract, cloudy ideas of Socialism; and, again, suddenly faith in yesterday's ideal vanishes, and all is apathy and despair."

CHAPTER III.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AS APPLIED TO THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

The results achieved by the revolutionary spirit have not been an unmixed evil. This statement is corroborated by the facts of history, and the correlatives that proceed in their train. For, however we may sigh over the blackening record of devastation and death, we yet attain unto partial reconciliation, when, from chaotic confusion, law, order and freedom emerge triumphantly into the light of day.

1. There are two views which we deem erroneous. The first, which brands all revolutionary exhibitions as an unmitigated evil; the second, whose outlook regards them as an unmixed good. Because, if the former were true, all forms of despotism would be in legitimate order, for the reception of unlimited obedience. It would be consistent with true citizenship to give, subversive of national obligation to refuse, acquiescence. In this case, all sources of freedom would be dried up at the root; all foundations of its personality, sapped and undermined; and, in the place of manly, spontaneous and vibratory movements, a mere *automaton* remains, through whose deteriorated system, the welcome breezes of freedom and respect, would, ere long, refuse to vibrate. Islamism teaches that "every new law is an innovation; every innovation is an error; and every error leads to eternal fire."* And yet, neither progress nor liberty, but their opposites, is promoted by eastern stagnation and despotism.

If the latter were true, the subversion of all governments, monarchical, aristocratic, or popular, would follow as a legitimate consequence, when their laws and actions were not in harmony with the spirit of the revolutionists. The good government would fall with the bad, when sufficient reasons prevailed; and, in accordance with this theory, it would be right. Revolutions would be the order of the day. Confusion, anarchy, destruction of life and property, would follow. The world would drift into socialism, or the embraces of communism. Paine said, that "If it were in his power to annihilate all libraries, he would do so without hesitation, in order to destroy all the errors deposited in them, and to commence a new chain of principles with the rights of man."†

And yet, while change is not to be coveted for its own sake, it ought not to be dreaded, in all respects, as a calamity. For, except the Word of God, the Church, the Messianic Atonement, and effusion of the Paraclete, there is not anything, either in the possession of Church or State, which has the promise of dur-

* Al Koran.

† *Souvenirs Sur Mirabeau*, Liber XVI.

able superiority. The transcendent blessings promised under those other heads are eternal :

“For not like kingdoms of this world,
Thy holy Church, O God !
Though earthquake shocks are threatening her,
And tempests are abroad.

“Unshaken as eternal hills,
Immovable she stands :
A mountain that shall fill the earth—
A house not made with hands.” *

These cannot change, but the outward forms of Church and State will undergo variations. Macaulay's New Zealander, may some day behold the emblems of England's dying empire, and bewail the sad fate of her faded glories. What is possessed as the incrustations of the kernel of Church or State, may be the best according to the fullest revelation the world has received ; but when its supersedence is controlled by superior agencies, greater light, wider discoveries, vaster resources, they must be ready to relinquish their position, as soon as, through study, labor, suffering, or revelation, something more advantageous is revealed to man. In the meantime, “ God, the Lord Omnipotent, reigneth—let the earth rejoice and be glad !”

2. The revolutionary spirit, as applied to ancient and modern times, presents a material distinction. In the attachment which the ancient citizen felt for his State, there were united nearly all of the intense affections which animate the human breast. Religion, associated with legend, poetry, and mythology and mythological history ; affection for kindred and tribe, for nation and country, for language and literature ; consciousness of the claims of superiority, were intimately interwoven with the regal ideal of patriotism.” †

The Romans, acting upon this principle, coined the word, *impius*, and engraved it with their national signet ; not merely making it to express what was generally to be deplored, but as eminently expressive of opposition to the family, the country, the gods. No greater crime could stain the uncontaminated

* A. C. Coxe, Meth. H. Bk., 713.

† Blackstone, Com. Vol. I.

purity of youth. Yet, notwithstanding those deeply-rooted principles, frequent ebullitions of the revolutionary spirit evidenced themselves.

The modern theory of patriotism is based upon the changed relationships of religious, philological, and national existence. Christianity severed religion from earthly citizenship, with regard to its external connectives and attributives; the growth of national languages usurped the place of the Latin; the naturalization of tribes and governments succeeded to empires formed by the amalgamation of incoherent States.* Under the new order of national affairs, there was no possibility of a return to ancient manifestations of patriotism; and there was no need. He was now no longer *impius* who resisted monarch or State, in the attempt to secure individual and social rights.

Not that all changes, in this respect, have been advances. There have been sadly retrograde tendencies. These, however, have been overruled by the wisdom of the ages, and the benign providences of God, and thus the dial of time has noted substantial progress for the world.

3. The manifestations of the revolutionary spirit have been exhibited in almost all periods of history, and in nearly every portion of the habitable world. Leaving the struggles for freedom and religion which are found in Biblical accounts, we turn our attention :

A. (1) To Greece. Here we briefly notice : The Ionian revolution. The revolution of Samos. The overthrow of the Thirty. The revolt from Spartan rule.†

(2) In the chequered history of Rome we decipher : The banishment of Tarquin, and the reign of the Consuls. The insurrection of the Commons, B. C. 490. The insurrection of the People, B. C. 450. The demands of the Plebeians. The restlessness of the *Demos* during the Social War, B. C. 121. Cataline's conspiracy, Brutus and Cassius.‡ The popular movement in Julius Cæsar's time.§

* Lieber, Pol Eth., Vol. II., p. 81.

† Timayenis, Hist. Greece, Vol. I.

‡ Abbott, Mon. of Mod. Europe—*Italy*.

§ Merrivale, Hist. Rom. Emp.

“The conflict could never cease. So long as one portion of the community is resolved to trample upon the rights of another, there must be an undying struggle. And this irrepressible conflict must burst out whenever the oppressed see any chance whatever to smite their oppressor. . . . This cruel strife, that commenced with Cain and Abel, has continued to the present day. In this conflict America has had her Washington; France her Napoleon; and Rome her Caius Julius Cæsar, under different institutions, and with varying success, as the champion of popular rights.*

B. The principal manifestations in modern times are: (1) In English History: Simnel and Warbeck, in the reign of Henry VII. The Gunpowder Plot, 1605. The Revolution, 1648. The Revolution, 1688. The Rye-House Plot, 1683. The Jacobites, 1715, 1745. The American War of Independence, 1776. The Gordon riots. The Irish Ebullitions.† (2) In Italian History: The Revolution by Rienzi. Savonarola's Reform. The League of Lombardy. Resistances by Milan, Florence, and Venice. Revolution of Charles IV. of Tuscany.‡ Revolution of Garibaldi. (3) The Revolutions of the Netherlands and Rise of the Dutch Republic.§ (4) The French Revolutions, 1794, 1848, 1870.¶ (5) Later Greek Revolutionary actions. (6) The American Civil War, 1862. (7) The Canadian Rebellions, 1836-7,|| 1870, 1885.

4. We might remark, that, in a free country like our own, swift, summary acts of a rebellious nature cannot produce remedial legislation. They only serve to embitter the governmental spirit; and, besides this, everything sought of a rightful and remedial nature can be obtained through the legitimate channels. (1) Mackenzie saw this, when, subsequently to the Rebellion, he was elected to the parliamentary halls of his country. (2) The Indian Rebellion by Riel, 1885, was a revivalistic modification of the old measures employed by him in 1870. The grievances were magnified in proportion as adher-

* Abbott, Italy, p. 173.

§ Motley, Rise of the D. Rep.

† Knight, Pop. His. Eng.

¶ Van Laun, Rev. Ep.

‡ Sismondi, Hist. Ital. Rep.

|| Life and Letters of W. L. Mackenzie.

ents increased. The disabilities swelled as thoughts and words gave birth to action. Unthinking, blind zeal, fanatical attachment to racial lines, isolation from central government influences, false and delusive promises blossoming into hopes, and tinged with temporary disabilities under which sections of the community labored, were some of the predetermined causes of this re-action against the Canadian Government in the North-West Territories. The Government quelled the rebellion by armed forces, hastily gathered and equipped from its various provinces; and many of her loyal sons slept the sleep of the brave, and rest from their labors on the plains, whose herbage and flowerets were tinged and dyed with their blood.*

(3) Riel was tried, condemned, and executed. Opinion has been divided as to the legitimacy of his execution. The racial cry was raised in Quebec. The press has been divided upon the question of political expediency. The Government has been charged with dereliction, in not granting redress for grievances announced prior to the rebellion. On the other hand, it has been extolled for the summary act by which it has meted out punishment to an instigator and ring-leader in rebellious measures. The *trend* of public opinion will not be gathered from any one of these statements; but from the fact that his execution caused the nation, upon the whole, to breathe more freely, in that a designing and dangerous man had met with merited deservings.

While the ultra-monarchist is coining strictured phrases against the motley host as it surges by, there is one other bystander who can select the veterenary hero from the cowardly ingrate, and bestow upon each his meed of reward.

A review of many of these manifestations incline us to the opinion that, at times, the movements of ages have culminated, and their results have been consolidated in a brief space of time; that, *e.g.*, the sixteenth century received into itself the effects of every movement of religious reform during the space of three or four preceding centuries; that the fifteenth occupied a similar relationship to political reforms, by the registration of

* The Hist. of Riel and the Rebellion.

many preceding centuries. We observe, however, that men had labored long, often in darkness, but that they had been nearer the light than they thought, and had also been the needed agents in preparing the way for that light.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESTRAINTS THAT SHOULD BE IMPOSED UPON THE DISPLAY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

1. When the revolutionary spirit has its root in desired reformation, it is normal and legitimate. When its aim is disintegration and confusion, it is abnormal and condemnatory.

2. All opposition to reigning governments must not be branded with the epithet of rebellion: there are occasions when the opposer of governmental designs is the true patriot, "and all" else "are slaves besides." (1) He must be actuated, however, by humane and salutary motives. The welfare of his fellow-citizens and the progress of his nation; the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses; the accomplishment of urgently needed reforms; the extirpation of antiquated systems of tyranny and misgovernment, are legitimate *desiderata*, that must sway his intellectual, moral, and political abilities, as he enters upon the pathway of renown, or of defeat. (2) The most extensive caution is required, lest hasty thoughts, expressed by violent words, should precipitate fanatical spirits into the execution of deeds, which, by their nature, must subvert law, order, and the well-being of society. (3) The highest wisdom that adorns the legislator, that crowns with equity the justiciary, must shed its genial rays over every attribute of mind. To aim at success, ample deliberative power must prevail; to accomplish it, patience, and perseverance are absolute accessories. (4) It will give advance to desired accomplishments, advantages to salu-

tary requirements, if pious and moral measures are permitted to exert their legitimate sway upon heart and life.

As in the cases of Washington, and William of Orange, "the three spirits of liberty, honor, and religion," * must necessarily prevail. "There is no instrument to carry on a refined and well-woven rebellion as a tender conscience, and a steady heart." † "The statesman must seek by the most judicious means to attain the independent power of the nation." ‡ Kitchen shows the legitimacy of the Cabochian Ordinance, because "it was no marrow-bone-and-cleaver-rule," and "that it was not the works of the brute-force of Paris, but of the brain, the doctors, the jurists." §

3. Again, the legitimate means of superseding bad kings and unjust laws are not: (1) By assassination, or mobocracy. Neither is it by dishonoring all law in an effort to destroy a bad one. The legitimate remedy is in the masses of men. (2) It is produced by stern conflicts of opinion; by arming an intellect against a sceptre; and so beginning a conflict that has sometimes extended over half a century.

4. By these means God has counteracted the evils of bad rulers, and removed unjust and unholy laws. Through bitter experiences, the world has arisen, as from a new baptism, to better things. Having once acquired their possessions, the world advances to a higher plane of life. In its progress it may step over the graves of antiquated dynasties; it may remove whole pages from statutory and gubernatorial books; but the truth will remain potent that the will of the people is oftener the will of God, than is the will of any absolute ruler.

* Hallam.

‡ Machiavelli.

† South.

§ Hist. France, Vol. I., Bk. 4, chap. 4.

CHAPTER V.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY THAT RENDERS THE MANIFESTATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT NUGATORY.

1. We aim at no perfect, nor Utopian model. The former is impossible of realization in the present state of man's social and political relationship. The latter may be relegated to the sphere of poetical possibilities, the realization of which is, as yet, inchoate.

2. What is claimed is a society, in which each individual and grade of that society, are in the possession of enlarged and untrammelled freedom. The subject is obligated to the obedience of laws, the aim and practicality of which, result in the public good.

3. He has a voice and vote in the different chambers of his nation, if not in person, through representatives.

4. He is freed from *surveillance* with respect to petty and unimportant matters; and not harrassed by them as the subject was under the reign of the Tudor monarchs.

5. The subject possesses all requisite facilities for the acquisition of popular and higher education.

6. He is not oppressed by a system of unjust taxation; neither is he obliged to support the incubus of a State Church. Religious toleration will afford freedom of worship and liberty of conscience.

7. When grievances arise, ample means of redress prevail. The Government brings "the actions, and not the convictions of men into harmony;" and, where "positive laws are indefinite, decisions be made according to the principles of natural," and not national "justice."*

8. In this state of society, it may not be wholly freed from

* Liebnitz's *Grad. Thesis*.

the presence of malcontents ; but the pre-eminence of its utility will be evident in the welfare of those who yield implicit obedience to its laws. The lawless may disturb public tranquillity by their distortion of views. The desire for innovation will promote disaffection. But, notwithstanding these exceptions, the great bulk of the community will view the laws and their administration in a satisfactory manner. In this condition, even, of the social organism, imperfection will no doubt, inhere ; but the revolutionary spirit will not attempt any mitigation of the body politic, by a resort to strenuous, or remedial measures, be they ever so mild. The measures in operative force have been and are beneficial to the subject and the nation—what if slight exceptions have produced a varied result ? There is ready acquiescence in the belief that the social and political *régime* under which the nation is governed, is the situation where the largest extent of freedom is granted with the most unlimited exercise of the abilities with which man is endowed.

9. In every State where the primordial rights of man meet with just recognition, no necessity will arise for the display of this spirit. This statement finds ample corroboration in the Free States of modern times ; in the Republics that have been shaped in the last century or so ; and in the limited monarchies, *e.g.*, like that of England.

10. Centuries ago this statement would have been materially different. The heel of the despot trod heavily upon the oppressed. Grinding weight and galling penury were keenly felt, and often, as patiently endured. (1) But this is largely past. The rise of the great middle class ; the establishment of extensive manufacturing centres, with furnaces and factories glowing with a thousand molten fires, and issuing their millions worth of commerce yearly ; the increasing potency of educative influences, whereby the child of the poorest artizan is exalted, often on equal terms with the offspring of the wealthy ; the repeal of antiquated legal enactments, whose force was lost by lapse of custom, and whose decrepitude resulted in imbecility ; a higher tone of morality, and a more earnest recognition of the practical duties inculcated by our holy Christianity—pre-

sent but meagre indications of the present *status* of affairs in connection with Britain's social and political life.* Let any one compare the best of the Tudor periods, or the most helpful of the Stuart dynasties, with what is here enunciated, and he will recognize the benefits attained by our branch of the Anglo-Saxon race.

(2) Passing to the Republic of the West, these facts find proof in her social and political relationships. Her franchise, extended to every normal male adult, of whatever country's origin, if naturalized, and of whatever color; her elective system, whereby the induction of office, even including the chief magistracy of the nation, is vested in the hands of the citizens, or their representatives; her welcome of earth's refugees, and old-world outcasts; her energy in the prosecution of colossal industries—point to the position she occupies among the nations of the earth.

(3) In short, the following characteristics mark the progress of the Anglo-Saxon race, viewed from the English, Canadian, or American standpoint: a broad and magnanimous spirit of freedom; an almost fabled wealth of resources; a civilization that leaps across an ocean for its full expression; an indomitable perseverance that brooks no barrier; educative forces that have no peer; a prolific, and in the main, an elevating press; a cultured, sanctified, and successful pulpit; an earnest recognition of Christian life and action—are but feeble testimonies that impart tribute to the character and worth of this race.†

Whatever reasons, then, men had in the nations indicated for the manifestations of the revolutionary spirit, this is no longer necessary, nor legitimate. In England, in the United States, the revolutionist is a criminal. In Russia he is not so conditioned. There, despotism binds its folds around the victims with as deadly effect as the fabled serpents of old did around the bodies of Laocoon and that of his sons. ‡

* Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, chap. 3.

† Taylor, *Manual of Hist.*, Part IV., chap. 15.

‡ Virgil, *Æneid*, Bk. II.

CHAPTER VI.

IDEALISTIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT PROPOSED BY ULTRA-REVOLUTIONISTS.

In stern and withering opposition to "the theory of absolutism," enunciated by Hobbes,* various theories of regenerative promise have been propounded:

1. Nihilism.

(1) This theory can only be recognized as a return to chaos.

(2) It utters no proclamation of God; it enunciates no distinction between right and wrong; it affords no bond of connection for the union of men; it promulgates no obligation as binding between communities—there is nothing but the individual.

(3) It is characterized, furthermore, by an entire absence of fellow-feeling; and an utter negation of advance along the lines of harmonious and concentrated action.

(4) The promise of personal development and a vigorous growth of self-dependence can alone be found in united and harmonious effort.

(5) *Anent* the question: What shall be done with the present order of things? The Nihilists have their answer ready. In one word, it is "dynamite!" They propose to destroy the present civilization, to raze it even to its foundations. They seek to explode the whole social fabric into infinitesimal atomic fragments.

(6) Out of the chaos thus produced, they expect to evolve some sort of a socialistic Cosmos—a new heaven and a new earth, wherein every man shall do what is right and just in his own sight.

(7) What Mr. Rae says about Russian Nihilists will bear pondering by other nations, as well as Russia: "Folly, it is said,

* Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I., Liber XIII.

is always weak and ridiculous till wisdom joins it ; and the excesses of Nihilism, if they stood alone, could not be the source of any formidable danger. But they do not stand alone ; they flame out of an atmosphere overcharged with social discontent and political disaffection." *

(8) Under this head, the character and career of Prince Krapotkine are suggestive. Traveller, Scientist, Nihilist, he gives himself, heart and soul, to the revolutionary cause. All the troubles of his career have not dampened his ardor, or decreased his energies ; and he is still one of the most formidable enemies of Russian despotism.

2. Communism. (1) This theory directs its aim more definitely to the entire destruction of individual rights, as regards the possession of property, and the enjoyment of social and political life. "It requires that the land and the instruments of production, shall be the property, not of individuals, but of communities, of the government." † (2) Industry, domestic purity and affection, shall claim no reward, for at every revolution of the earth's axis, the idle, the false, the drunken, shall divide among themselves the products of thrift and virtue.

An impressive illustration of those principles is evidenced in the Communists of Paris. Scarcely had the Franco-Prussian war ceased, than the Commune began its evolutions within the heart of the city. Paris had undergone the rigors of isolation, starvation, depletion. The city capitulated, and a temporary investment took place. It was afterwards given up to riot, pillage, scenes of desolation and death, until the restored power asserted its rights, stamped communism out, and assumed the reins of rightful but changed government. It was revolutionary and communistic France that flung herself so suddenly into the arms of Napoleon ; and it was the same France that now overthrew the monarchical form of government, and substituted a republican system in its stead.

3. Anarchism. (1) It appears the strangest paradox that, in a free country like the United States, anarchy should have an

* *Contemp. Soc.* pp. 316-317.

† *Mill, Pol. Econ., Bk. II., p. 125.*

existence. "Simple as this social system has been, it has shown a wonderful power of absorption—English, Irish, Scotch, French and German blood, has been poured into the body politic Now, we find in this stream of blood, that which persistently refuses to be assimilated; and is, moreover, irreconcilably hostile to the society which it has entered."* (2) The organizations and developments of the Chicago anarchists, point to a pre-determined, destructive agency, in the United States. The bomb throwing, the murders of officials, the scenes at the execution of the conspirators, the bravado spirit, their attempted deification, exhibit principles which are the direct antitheses of those which seek redress of evils. (3) Mr. Rae says: "American socialism is a mere episode of German socialism; that it is confined almost exclusively to the German population of the United States."† A writer in *The North American Review*, mentions that the severe measures resorted to by the German government after the attempt to assassinate the Emperor, had the effect of hastening the departure of many of these rash spirits from the land of their nativity. (4) It should be remarked that these more violent elements are but a small majority of the German people; and among those who happen to be socialists, the majority of them are of the more rational, rather than of the more violent, type.

4. Socialism. (1) The socialists, from Morelly to Cabet, resolved themselves into the rational demand for greater equality, material as well as legal, with a more intense application of the communistic principle.

(2) The object of modern socialists from L. Blanc to K. Marx, and William Morris, has been to wage an industrial warfare for the disenthralment of the masses from the "despotism of capital." William Morris, Surrey, England—poet, socialist, art-manufacturer—is milder in tone and sentiment, and presages greater results by economic methods and rules. (3) Socialism promises the removal of class distinctions, and antagonisms between the employer and the employed; and, by obliterating the still more obnoxious division of society into the industrious and

* *Century Magazine*, 1887. † *Cont. Socialism*, p. 317.

the idle. It presages that the claims of retributive justice will be satisfied, and the vision of the poet realized :

“ Wherein, in social fellowship abode,
Brethren, unjustled by the envious press
Of competition’s rivalry, for all
Shared equally, none coveting to excess.
Each in his own office, labored
As might fall
To him most fitly,—such as
Several taste
Or special talent made congenial,
. With equal talent bore
Each one his due proportion.”*

“ The Co-operative Commonwealth,” by Lawrence Gronlund, exhibits these economical laws lying at the basis of their system. Attempts have been made by Messrs. Giffen and Malloch to negative these assertions. The socialists lay much stress upon what is called “ the iron law of wages,” enunciated by Ricardo.

(4) The socialists point out that the multiplication of commercial crises and periods of stagnation, are the results of the present industrial system. Mr. Gronlund † and K. Marx, both hold these views. ‡ (5) This is the tone of the more moderate socialists ; yet Mr. Gronlund refers to the natural force, called “ vril,” described in Bulwer’s romance, “ The Coming Race.” He says : “ It can be stored in a small wand, which rests in the hollow of the palm ; and, when skilfully wielded, can rend rocks, scatter the strongest fortress, and make the weak a perfect match for any combination of number, strength and discipline. What if this “ vril ” is but a poetic anticipation of civilizing power of that real energetic substance, which we call dynamite ? ” §

(6) What is to be the new régime ? The State will direct and control all the farming, mining, manufacturing, carrying, teaching, healing, buying and selling. This is Schaeffle’s view. The State would pay itself for expenses incurred out of the

* Thornton’s *Labor Utopia*. † Fr. and Ger. Soc. in *Modern Times*, p. 181.

† Co-op. Com., p. 42.

§ Co-op. Com., p. 275.

storehouses under its control. (a) The functions are given as: The nationalization of capital. A confrontation of rich and poor. An increasing amount of governmental influence. (b) The State will possess three functionaries: superintendent, statistician and arbitrator. (c) These, with physicians, teachers, judges, and all such "non-productive" laborers, would be remunerated out of the governmental resources. (d) The civil service would include the whole population. Every citizen would be directly and consciously in the employ of the government. The shoemaker, or hod-carrier, would be a governmental officer, as much as the postmaster, or excise-officer is under the present state of affairs. (e) The nation would own and control all property now vested in corporations, such as railroads, banks and guilds. (f) Loans and interest would cease. (g) Inheritance would be vetoed. The power of plutocracy would be broken. (h) Domestic and kindred matters to be radically reconstructed. (i) With respect to morals, men will be made good by furnishing them with a better environment. They will be successfully attracted to do right. (j) With regard to religion, something in its own nature may remain, however its form, conditions, tendencies, may co-relate and adjust themselves under a different form of political observances.

Dr. Woolsey says that there is no reason why, in the nature of things, socialists should not be Christians. They might even make Christianity the established religion of the state. This is ultra-utopian, indeed; for, at the present day, the great majority of socialists are violently opposed to all that is sacred to man by the name of the religion of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

(k) "Socialists," says Schaeffle, "pronounced the Church to be a police institution in the hands of capital; and that it cheats the proletariat by bills of exchange on heaven. It deserves to perish." Better is the statement of Edme-Jean Leclaire, founder of "The Maison Leclaire," in Paris, which he wrote upon his death-bed, as his confession of faith: "I am a humble disciple of Him who has told us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us; and to love our neighbor as ourselves. It

is in this sense that I desire to remain a Christian till my last breath." Well may we exclaim: out of such a faith ought to grow such fruit. Our holy Christianity is not only able to solve all problems that relate between labor and capital, but between the masses of society and their governments. Let Christ and Christianity be lifted up, other systems will lose their votaries, but they will draw all men unto them.

5. In summing up the systems propounded, irrespective of the differences their varying theories present, they demand: (i.) Man's return to simple forms of life, in marked agreement with the laws of nature; and, as contra-distinguished from legislative enactments, that give sanction to political expediency. (ii.) A more complete reorganization of the constitution of society, under the guidance of an elective commissariat, appointed by the voice of the people. (iii.) A more equitable division of labor and pleasure. (iv.) A complete pacification of the dissentient sections of the community, and the ultimate unification of all humanity.

(1) The principles advocated are characterized as erroneous, because they manifest: (i.) A tendency to violent and sudden levelling-down principles, in the place of results achieved by steady and uniform efforts toward equalization. (ii.) A negation of faith in the moral and religious potentialities of mankind. (iii.) An over-estimate of acquiescence in the matter of self-sacrifice for the public good. (iv.) The artificiality of the scheme that aims to promote international association on an extended scale, before the human mind is ready for its reception, instead of patiently waiting for the potency of a nation's political and moral agencies.

(2) The historical disproofs of these presages are numerous. With respect to Rousseau's political opinions, Kitchen remarks that France paid the penalty for her adoption of those principles: "The French upper classes thought it great sport to pull merrily at the old walls of their country's institutions, never dreaming that they could be so ill-ordered as to fall down and crush them in their ruin."* Montesquieu, as "the advocate of

* Kitchen, *Hist. France*, Vol. III., Bk. 6, chap. iv., p. 436.

political freedom;" Voltaire, as "the champion of tolerance,"* did not advance with Rousseau into the "Garden of Eden for those who would cast society behind them." And Mirabeau's conduct causes the historian to remark: "Whether this remarkable man could have swayed and curbed the revolutionary spirit, is uncertain. Hot republicans, who hated him, declared, in a loud manner, that 'had he lived he would have destroyed the revolution;' yet it is not at all clear that his power and popularity could have achieved the great feat of reconstructing society on new bases, and of building where he had been foremost in pulling down."†

6. In the internal workings of national life, there occur shadings of relationship, with respect to the revolutionary spirit. (1) This is evidenced in the reforms of some European Republicans. Prominent among these we find the names of Castelar, Lamennais, Mazzini, Worcell, Herzen, Garibaldi and Count Cavour. What Mazzini wrote in 1850, will also apply to some others: "We believe in a social state, having God and His law at the summit; the people, the universality of free citizens, at its base; progress for rule, association as means; devotion for baptism, genius and virtue for lights upon the way. And that which we believe to be true for a single people, we believe to be true for all."

Castelar's stand is dignified and great. When the days of the Republic were over, the provisional government which ensued, offered him a portfolio of office. He refused it as haughtily as Cato: "My conscience," he said, "will not allow me to associate with demagogues, and my conscience and my honor keep me aloof from a state of things created by bayonets." Castelar is known and admired, whether in republican America, or in monarchical England. Of Garibaldi, it might be said as it was of Mazzini, "That his political beliefs were but the consequence of his supreme faith." With him the individual right was to be free *and fitted* for public duty. Like Milton, he held that the commonwealth ought to be but as one mighty growth of stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in

* Kitchen, Hist. France, Vol. III., Bk. 6, chap. iv., p. 436.

† *Ibid.*

body. And that religion, above all things, should be the bond binding the brotherhood of nations together; and the duty of nations towards humanity. Whatever, then, separates nations from nations, and families from families, divides what God has united. Cromwell is eulogized by Carlyle,* and regarded as laboring with unselfish generosity to help his nation struggle into nobler and more helpful ways of life. Of this, however, there are divided views.

(2) Another shading of relationship is seen in the strikes and lock-outs of modern times. Rural life with its innocent joys and modest gaieties, as sung by Crabbe and Woodsworth, is neither sought after, nor desired; while over-concentration of population, as now prevailing in cities, is one of the most fruitful sources of evil of these modern times. Strikes and lock-outs are like the steam-gauge, indicating pressure—not the explosive steam itself. The danger to the body politic is seen in the criminal results that often develop from the causes advanced. This is vividly illustrated by the account of a friendless girl, who, three generations ago, was thrown upon the world's cold sympathies; and, as a consequence, uncared for. Her descendants numbered over one hundred dangerous men and women of criminal traits and practices. No earthly record can tell how many a bright young man or woman thrown out of employ by the labor trouble has become the centre of equally dark and ever-widening circles, both in relation to the spiritual and the political aspect of the question. These labor troubles are great in the Old World, menacing not only corporations, but at times, governments of all forms; yet the prevailing evils are greater in the New World, as, *e.g.*, the vast array of strikes and lock-outs which occur from time to time.

(3) Then, there are the vast evils which attend modern life on this continent. We refer to the number of bankruptcies, bank collapses, rings, bank discrepancies, so that in the year of grace 1888, an American colony has been established in Canada, and *vice versa*, for the reception of the irrespective defalcants, where retirement may be sought from inconvenient creditors,

* Cromwell's Life and Letters.

and senility or youthful vigor pasture upon the rich meadows of recuperated and stored-up energies. These are monetary manifestations of the revolutionary spirit—the illegitimate revolt against the tyranny of things. Atlas bore up the mountains; Ajax could carry a world; but some of Hodge's masters cannot (?) pay their debts. Robertson Trowbridge, in *The Century Magazine*, says :

“ You weep, my Lill, above the page
That tells the ‘ ancient wrong,’
Of captive’s tears and tyrant’s rage,
And weak oppressed by strong.

Your poet knows a sterner thrall,
A harder yoke he sings,—
The bondage of the very small,
The tyranny of things.

And truly ours is hardest fate,
Our lot more hopeless far,
Who scarcely feel our lost estate,
Or know what slaves we are.

Slaves to life’s thousand small demands,
Its toil, its fret, its care ;
Slaves to our homes, our goods, our lands,
Slaves to the clothes we wear !

Slaves to the cherished things we fold
In careful closets shut ;
The plate we store, the books we hold
Too choice to read—or cut !

Slaves—ah, to what a host of things !
Poor Gullivers would quake
Beneath a web of threads and strings
We know not how to break !

Give place, O ‘ Tamerlane the Great,’
Sesostris, Ptolemy !
I sing the bond to whose hard weight
Your chains were liberty.

The yoke more strict than despot’s thrall
More stern than rule of kings—
The hardest tyranny of all
The tyranny of things !”

CHAPTER VII.

THE CLAIMS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, UNDER CERTAIN RELATIONSHIPS, ARE TO BE VINDICATED.

1. Obedience to law is promulgated by sacred and profane legislator. Its acquiescence is regarded as a virtue; its non-recognition as a vice.

2. "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians, that we lie here in obedience to her laws."* This inscription was composed by Simonides to commemorate the heroic defence of Leonidas and his band at the pass of Thermophylæ; and which was thought to give adequate expression to a deed that would be remembered with pride by every Greek citizen.

3. Without obedience to legitimate commands a nation's forces are rendered nugatory. The schemes propounded for internal reform, national aggrandisement, and international amity, must necessarily prove abortive without its necessary accompaniment.

4. Yet, without divesting himself of his primordial environments, man is not able, nor is he in a position, under all circumstances, to yield absolute obedience. It becomes not only impossible, but absolutely immoral. The Deity alone asserts this claim. In short, all absolute obedience would virtually amount to the recognition of Laud's "*et cetera*" oath.†

5. Under what circumstances, then, may laws be disobeyed, or resisted: (1) If they are contrary to the fundamental law of the realm. (2) If they are directly opposite to the laws of nature, conscience, or morality. (3) If they are antagonistic to the spirit of the times. (4) If they are against primordial rights. (5) If they obligate compliance with other commands by superior force.

* Herodotus, VII. 228.

† Hallam, Const. Hist., p, 301.

6. We are told that Buonaparte was exceedingly pleased, on certain occasions, when he found that he had been disobeyed.* Nelson, at times, would look at signals given him in battle with his blind eye. The manly tars under Pennington command universal commendation, when they inscribed "what is called a 'round robin' against the service, and laid it under the Bible of their admiral, whose sentiments accorded with their own."

Monarchs, notwithstanding their belief in the doctrine of absolute non-resistance, have both fostered and intensified resistance, when the changed relationships of affairs seemed to render it necessary. George III. aided Queen Matilda, of Denmark, in her attempt to overthrow the existing Government. Ferdinand VII. rewarded those who had opposed both the Cortes and himself. Charles the Bald acceded the right of the nobility to use arms against the unjust demands of the Emperor. Andrew II., of Hungary; Alphonzo III., of Arragon; and John, of Denmark, yielded the same principle, if, after protestation, the liberties of their subjects, should still be infringed. Guizot furnishes additional proofs with special reference to the same subject. †

The Church herself has often led the van in the matter of resistance; for the Popes, in numerous instances, have both incited and encouraged rebellion.

Men, like the Barons of Runnymede, Simon de Montfort, Hampden, Pryne, Vane, Cromwell, Tell, Savonarola, William III., of England, William the Silent, Wycliffe, Luther, the Seven Bishops, Washington, Garibaldi, deserve the most profound and reverential mention. They had been more than mortal, and less than obedient to the truest commands of life, had they remained silent and inactive under the burning disabilities and oppressions that bore down upon them with crushing weight. When the time is reached wherein to speak, it is criminal to remain silent. When the period arrives wherein action is necessary to be taken, it is craven to ape the laggard.

Shall we blame those old-time men for their opposition, in their different relationships, against wrinkled injustice and

* Bourrienne. † Guizot, *Hist. Civiliz.* i. 100, and iii. 96, 97.

crushing disabilities? Were their actions justifiable? History, whose province it is to be true to her duty, places upon every page the record of painstaking, suffering toil, for the sake of their nation, and the cause of the people. Had these men remained inert, despotism, oppression, misgovernment, resuscitated and rejuvenated, would have bound their victims with increased and increasingly tightened bonds.

Kitchen says: "The struggles of England moulded and secured her modern and constitutional life."* William, of Orange, he regards as "the champion of freedom for the world."† And that "the genius of the Revolution evoked a new race of heroes." Kant sympathized with the American colonies in their War of Independence, and with the French in their Revolution, "which promised to realize the idea of political freedom."‡ Kant also said: "Nothing can be more terrible than that the action of one man should be subject to the will of another."§ Spinoza is of the opinion, that "by doing violence to convictions they promote insurrections."|| Lieber is enthusiastic, for he says: "There appeared those great men, Selden, Eliot, Pryne, Hampden, who fought a good fight for all civilized mankind."¶

7. Because men have recognized the theory of "the Divine right," and consequently, the impiety of resistance, the opinion has gained credence that the Bible taught the doctrine of non-resistance. The powers that be, good or bad, must receive implicit obedience. This should be rendered without a dissentient voice or manifestation of rebellious desire.

He who suffered his rightful claims to sink into inanity, and his personalities to be absorbed by some tyrannous and impious ruler, was lauded to the skies, by the dignitaries of the Church, or the minions of the tyrant. He, who, in manful and helpful comprehension of his birthright and heaven-bestowed privileges, brooked no restraints against crushing disabilities, bearing

* Hist. France, Vol. III., Bk. V., chap. 1.

† *Ibid.*

§ Kant, *Werke*, Vol. XI., Part I., p. 253.

‡ Ueberweg, *Hist. Philos.*, Vol. I., p. 140. || Spinoza, *Tractatus Politicus*.

¶ Lieber, *Pol. Eth.*, Vol. I., Bk. II., chap. 10. p. 306.

them as long as he was able ; but, when the limit of endurance had been reached, claimed with an emphasis only what was his indefeasible heirloom, was branded with the epithet of rebel, dastard, ingrate ; hunted by the sleuthhounds of malevolence ; pursued to the carnage of death ; and, had further power been forthcoming, his destruction would have been still incomplete, until his soul had found a lodgment in the nethermost regions of hell.

8. Has the Bible in its teachings sanctioned this? Has it claimed for despots and their deeds a legitimacy that is unimpeachable? Does it proclaim that monarchs are surrounded with an extra-political halo ; or, that a relation between the subject and the monarch exists on the ground of religion beyond the foundation of the State and law ; or yet, that a sacred and indestructible allegiance is supposed to exist and thereby claim permanency? The Old Testament, in its fidelity to the teachings of God and the needs of the human race, in all its environments, negatives the answers to these questions. The Divine Christ Himself left the purely political question untouched. None have disagreed so much on the subject as the theologians.

9. Revolutions, then, are justifiable when a series of malevolent measures have been perpetuated, and after all attempts, civil and political, have failed to obtain redress. Revolutions are at all times fearful in their deeds ; but there are periods in a nation's history when they become not only unavoidably necessary, but decidedly salutary. A writer, in speaking of fever, says : "*Febris saepe sanationis optima causa.*"* The statement finds application when applied to the diseases with which the body politic is possessed. The entire political machinery may have become so radically corrupt, and its spirit so utterly subversive of the best interests of life, that it engenders misery and national immorality ; and, hence, becomes bereft of its normal and jural environments. Revolutions, then, under those conditions are just, and the citizen is craven who shrinks from the discharge of obligations that are imposed upon him.

* Boerhaave.

10. Judged, then, in the light of the preceding principles, the phenomena of revolutionary movements admit of partial justification. This statement finds ample corroboration in the revolutions of the Netherlands, and the rise of the Dutch Republic. Never, in the history of the world, were men so incessantly goaded by the relays of persecuting power that was brought to bear against them. We are led to wonder, not that the spirit of freedom was manifested so soon, but that it was under "curb and rein" for so long a time. The insurrection, the camp-meetings, the iconoclasts at Antwerp, the Tourney riots, were but mild expressions of legitimate antagonism to illegal usurpations, both of the Church and the State.*

With respect to the French Revolution, Kitchen remarks: "One after another the institutions of the country had become weak, and had been swept away; they were old and worm-eaten, and had in them no vigor of renewed life, no roots running wide in the soil of the nation, whence new growths could come. The Church was paralyzed, the *noblesse*, now chiefly modern in origin, hopelessly corrupt; the peasantry, in many parts, reduced almost to the savage state."† Van Laun states that "the great disease of France is directly traceable to the ever-open wound of prodigality at the centre, which absorbs the healthiest life-blood, sending back a corrupted black stream, and polluting every limb of the kingdom."‡

A similar examination with reference to the claims of the English revolutions, or that of the American Colonies, or that of the Italian struggles for freedom, would furnish additional testimonies of a decidedly positive character; and serve to intensify our views with respect to this phase of the subject.

* Motley, Rise of the D. Rep.

† Hist. France, Vol. III., p. 467.

‡ French Rev. Ep. Vol. I., p. 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

A BRIEF RESUME OF THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

1. As applied to national and political aggrandisement. (1) Had the plebeians remained dormant and inoperative, the passing of the agrarian law, and the removal of other disabilities, would not have transpired. The Twelve Tables, the *Decimvirs*, the laws of equality, were beneficial results of this legitimate agitation.* In the succeeding ages, other rights were won by the perturbation of the masses, and the purgation of the social and political impurities.† “The annals of the past have no teachers more valuable than these conflicts of popular rights against the tyranny of wealth and rank.”‡

(2) The English Revolution was a decided advantage to the British nation, and, indeed, to the world. “But for the timely change in Holland, and the later revolution in England, there would have been nothing to restrain the advance of French domination in Europe.”§ William, of Orange, proved himself to be the only agent who was able to procure tranquility in her internal affairs; and to furnish the exhibition of national prowess, with respect to her external relationships.|| Had the Stuarts been suffered to remain in power, a hopeless bondage would, undoubtedly, have enslaved them—a free and enlightened people; and England be situated, to-day, as a third, or fourth-rate power of Europe. When her free spirit, however, leaped from its prison-house into the light of day, in her onward speed of flight, there followed a series of events and enactments, that have given efficiency to enterprise, and promise

* Abbott, *Italy*, chap. 2, and Keightly, *Hist. Rome*, Part II., chap. 2.

† *Ibid.*, chap. 10, p. 191.

§ Kitchen, *Hist. France*, Vol. III., p. 97.

‡ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, p. 46.

|| Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, p. 565.

to progressiveness.* During the Victorian era, these have been abundantly intensified, largely through her who is lauded by the words: *Dieu Sauve La Reine!*"

(3) With respect to the rise of the Dutch Republic, Motley says: "Without the birth of this great commonwealth, the various phenomena of the sixteenth and following centuries, would have either not existed, or have presented themselves under essential modifications. Itself, an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire, the Republic guarded with sagacity, at many critical periods in the world's history, that balance of power, which, among civilized states, ought always to be identical with the scales of Divine justice. becoming itself a mighty state, and binding about its own slender form, a zone of the richest possessions of the earth from pole to pole, dictates its decrees to the Empire of Charles."† "The Dutch enjoy the high honor of having saved the western world from subjection."‡

(4) And what Holland and Zealand accomplished in the sixteenth, England and Holland in the seventeenth, was also accomplished by the American Colonies in the eighteenth century. § A hundred years of national existence, with its practical and political benefits, afford some justification on the part of its founders, to render the Republic independent, free and prosperous. The most profound royalist is, perhaps unwillingly, forced to acquiesce in the views here propounded. For, however he may regret the severance of British connection, he will bear unqualified testimony to her position as one of the first nations of the world.

(5) With respect to the French Revolution, its beneficiality was evidenced when "the long-tottering institution, which had held France in its hands for years and centuries, at last gave way, and fell under blows which it had no longer any strength to bear." || And "over the wearied parties of the past, the

* Knight, Hist. Eng., "Standard Series," p. 600.

† Motley, Rise of the D. Rep., *preface*.

‡ Kitchen, Hist. France, Vol. III., p. 77.

§ Taylor, Manual of Hist. chap. 15, 767.

Kitchen, Hist. France Vol. III., p. 506.

ardent emotions of the present, Napoleon saw how he might build up, in the future, the colossal fabric of his imperial fortunes.* Fox said that "the French Revolution was the greatest step hitherto taken for the emancipation of the human race; that a new policy should henceforth govern Europe, and give her back peace. . . . That he admired the new constitution of France, as the most glorious monument to liberty which human reason had raised at any epoch, or in any country." † Browning and Woodsworth were included in the party of distinguished literary men who enthusiastically supported the principles of the French Revolution.

(6) With regard to the later Greek struggles, Byron died at the age of thirty-six, picturesquely and romantically, at Missolonghi, in the land which his genius had touched with new interest, in the heroic effort to aid her struggle against tyranny.

(7) Thus, after long struggles men acquired individual and national rights. How manifold these acquirements have been! Popular representation. The rise of the great middle class. Liberal education for the masses. Levelling of class distinctions. Liberty of conscience and freedom of worship—present but indications of the results achieved by the genius of freedom, and the handmaids that followed in her train.

2. As evidenced in religions reformations. Had men rendered implicit obedience to the demands of the Church, self-abnegation would have followed this ignoble subservience:

(1) The Albigenses, ‡ the Vaudois, § were witnesses to the falsity of the doctrines they opposed, and exemplars of the truth in which they had absolute faith. Because they deemed it undeniably true they held it with a tenacity that, even in death, was not relaxed. ||

(2) Before the great Reformation, the sections mentioned, together with the Culdees ¶ and Lollards,** in England, had endured conflicts in the cause of religious freedom.

* *Ibid.*, p. 507.

§ Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, p. 114.

† Van Laun, *Rev. Ep.*, Vol I., p. 158. || The Open Bible.

‡ Velly, III., 441;

¶ Journey to Western Islands of Scot.

** Collier, *Brit. Hist.*

(3) When the Reformation principles had been firmly established, irreverent practices and antiquated evils failed to find willing and subservient votaries. Men had outgrown their pupilage. The puerility of oft-failed pledges appeared evident. As she then existed there was very little hope in the Church, no prospect of the soul's purification and repose in the doctrines as proclaimed by her teachings.* But Luther, "bold, disinterested, spiritual, has a purpose. That purpose is the Reformation. Waiting with the modesty of a hero until he is forced into the strife, with the courage of the hero he steps into the breach to do battle for the living truth."† Slavery of mind, priestly absolutism, plenary indulgence, the general absence of spiritual worship, the relegation of the Word of God—present but faint indications of the disabilities that awoke men to the dignity and duty of life.

What welcome *denouements*! How speedily they followed each other! The liberation of conscience; the research of the Scriptures; the freedom of worship; the disenthralment from the power of the confessional; the purification of life; and the impartation of intensified spiritualization of being. One, in writing of its welcome incoming, says: "Begun by Luther, in Germany, the tide of revolution in religious affairs never ceased to flow until it touched every shore of the continent." The Reformation has had its due effects upon national life and progress. The free and enlightened countries, as America, Germany, England, are the prosperous; the semi-enslaved and turbulent, Spain and Italy, the retrograde nations. France has paid a heavy debt in revolutionary and communistic principles and disabilities—had she become wholly Hugueonistic and free, there had been less need for her perturbation or purgation.

(4) The Puritanic † and Nonconformist ‡ agitators that have been continued, almost down to the present time, in England, bear the seal of their legitimacy by the removal of disabilities

* Merle D'Aubigne, *Hist. Ref.*, Bk. 3, p. 74.

† Punshon, "Prophet of Horeb."

‡ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, chaps. 4 and 10.

that had harrassed the free exercise of conscience, and the undoubted rights of man. "Liberty owes much to schism." *

(5) It is quite safe to say that Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Huss, Wesley, are the representative men who laid the foundations of ecclesiastical and religious freedom; and, who pointed men's minds to clearer light, and their hearts to more endearing enjoyments.

(6) Had silence brooded over those noble, comprehensive minds, history, in vain would have been sifted to furnish similar results. Had the spirit of subordination been acceded, a hopeless pall might have covered the whole earth. Silence and subordination were alike refused, time and events have justified that refusal.

3. As evidenced in literature. (1) We are speaking reverentially when we mention, in this connection, the Word of God; but facts are patent that, when the New Testament was furnished to the world, it met with outbursts of opposing force, both from Jew and Gentile. Its fundamental aim was to revolutionize the systems, and to expurgate the sins of both classes of the community, by measures that conflicted with traditional teachings and national proclivities.† Its Divine Author had enunciated those startling, but felicitous truths, with decided emphasis;‡ and they were perpetuated by those who continued to build upon the foundation He had laid. The unparalleled success that followed their efforts, proved the Divinity of the truth they proclaimed, and its fitness to meet the requirements of man.§

(2) Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," took the advance step as an expounder of the relation existing between man and his Creator; as also, in his predilection for the liberal principles of government.|| Those principles maintained through stern opposition, have lost neither virtue nor efficiency, through the ages. (3) The *Index Expurgatorius* gives a list of authors whose writings are under the ban; but their beneficiality has been evident, by their helpful influences, both to Church and

* May, Const. Hist., Vol. I., p. 412. §Farrar, "Victories of Christianity."

† Kurtz, Church Hist.

|| Hallam, Const. Hist., IV., p. 132.

‡ Luke, Gospel xii., 49-53.

|| *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 108.

State. Nearly the whole list of Protestant literature has been under the interdict. (4) Luther's *Theses* and Translation of the Bible into German, have had the high honor of saving the German nation from superstition and ignorance. (5) Wycliffe's "Translation of the Bible," was under interdictory *pronunciamentos*; but it became the basis of future consolidated and permanent translations. (6) The English Bible, with its terse, expressive Saxon, has had armies of enemies, and floods of opposition; but it has raised the great Anglo-Saxon race high above the sloughs of superstition and ignorance; placed it upon broad, progressive bases; and is now giving to the world its story by means of nearly five hundred different languages and dialects. (7) "The Pilgrim's Progress," now read by saint and sinner, by Christian and pagan, was anathematized and ridiculed; yet, like its author, it failed not to describe the journey of the soul from "this world to that which is to come." (8) Wesley's "Sermons" were interdicted; and yet they have been largely the heralds of evangelism for generations. (9) "Uncle Tom's Cabin" met with outbursts of opposition from many quarters; but since the emancipation of the slaves, it has been learned how much it owed its results to the clear statements of the evils given by Mrs. Stowe.

4. As evidenced in scientific tendencies. Had men always checked the rising spirit of revolution, even against intellectual disabilities, we should seek in vain for examples of scientific attainments that have blessed men by their discoveries and benefits. (1) Galileo, 1639, when arraigned for heretical views respecting the revolution of the earth around the sun as its centre, was obligated to sign his declaration of disbelief in the fact; and yet, when the unconquerable proofs that the statements he had made were indubitably true, came with uncontrollable force to his mind, he exclaimed: "*Epur si mouve.*"*

(2) When Guttenburg † advanced his scheme and art of printing, his type-setting was regarded as Satanic in its agency. He was met, as true benefactors have frequently been met, with storms of wrath and outbursts of opposition. (3) Caxton, ‡

* Ray, Astron., II., 48. † Disraeli. ‡ *Ibid.*

too, was opposed, and yet his incipient type-setting, his rudely-engraved blocks of wood, his crude and immature letter-press, are the permanent foundations upon which are based our numerous achievements in scholastic and literary pursuits. Man must have words as a medium of thought, language as a vehicle of expression. With printing resources, he has both thought and expression.

(4) Newton, in his law of gravitation ; and Stephenson, in his railroad discoveries ; Watts, with respect to the details of steam-power ; Franklin, in his discovery of electricity ; Columbus, firm in his belief of a new world ; and Livingstone, Stanley, and Emin Bey, with regard to views and sufferings for African exploration, all opposed, in some measure, prevailing beliefs ; and results have amply justified them in their opposition.

CHAPTER IX.

OUR INHERITANCE.

Thus the world has kept moving. Blind and deaf must he indeed be who feels the throbbing pulsations of the mighty currents that are in flow, and yet assures himself that they will cast nothing upon the shore. Already the air is full of promise of what days, not far distant, will bring to view. If space permitted, chapters might be appended upon the glorious country God has given us ; the grand patrimony of progress in popular and higher education ; the magnificent advancement in invention ; the onward march and continued progress of Christianity, with respect to its evangelistic tendencies at home, and missionary triumphs abroad.

1. What do we find as the state of affairs at the present moment ? This : That all movements and changes, inventions and discoveries, advantages and advancements, have tended toward the equalization of man in many of the blessings of life.

Special comforts are no longer conferred upon the possessor of enormous wealth—they are within the reach of men of moderate means. Kings, centuries ago, dwelt in poorer houses, and possessed fewer comforts, than many a laborer enjoys to-day.

2. The tendencies of the nineteenth century civilization, are to bring men closer together, to break down dividing lines, and to exalt the poor and the rich upon a more equitable plane of enjoyment in common.

3. These tendencies are accelerated by the preaching of the Gospel, with its accompanying handmaids of education, temperance, sanitary methods, prudential restraints, and obedience to law. Principles, methods, monuments, results, with regard to the person and society, attest the truth of this statement.

4. Nineteen hundred years ago, a cross was reared by the hands of evil men. Bright rays of light proceeded from it, and stretched forth in every direction. Through the centuries they have pierced their way, well-nigh lost, at intervals, under a weight of darkness; but still living on until, in our own time, every ray bursts out into a widely-extended flame. The light from thence fills the earth. At every spot, in every clime, men feel its influence. The realization of the promised declaration is nigh at hand: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto Me." *

5. The long-parted and widely-separated families of men, divided by poverty, oppression and pride, are flowing together. War and rebellion, and the greed of gold, have wearied the human heart, and leaving them far behind, men are rising into the light of a new morning. †

6. The purposes of God are far from being completed, but they are outlined in what has already been accomplished; and Christian faith is confirmed, in the fact that the events of time tend in the very direction that the Gospel and the Holy Scriptures generally have predicted. "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice."

* John's Gospel, xii., 32. † Stafford, Sermon, "Shall the World have a Ruler?"

The Christian philanthropist, statesman, citizen, would fain give echo to the watchwords of the age :

“*Now* o'er truth's vast sea exploring thought's free pennons are unfurled,
There's a mental resurrection like the spring-time of a world.
Creed and teacher must be tested as by fire in fiercest light,
For the question of the age is, *Is it true, and is it right?*”

“*Law*, so long the rich man's weapon, keeping pelf and power secure,
Now extends its strong protection to the feeble and the poor.
Lonely souls through all the ages, wrought and battled in the van ;
Now, the van of deeds heroic, spans the brotherhood of man.

“*Then*, like soulless beasts of burden, men and women bought with gold,
Were, by heartless Christian brothers, into life-long bondage sold ;
Now, through every clime and country, rings the jubilant decree—
That, in spite of race and color, every human soul is free.

* * * * *

“Doubtless, prejudice and passion, may the restive crowds unite ;
And the blind may lead the blind till they trample on the right.
Bitter feuds of creeds and classes find no cure in human code :
Men in true and Christly brotherhood, must bear each other's load.

“Rough and steep the paths of progress ; slowly earth's oppressions die ;
Yet the world is rising higher as the burdened years go by.
Truth and righteousness, unconquered, in this warfare, shall prevail ;
This the God of truth has promised, and His word can never fail.” *

“*ABEUNT STUDIA IN MORES.*”

* E. H. Dewart, D.D., in *The Christian Guardian*, Feb. 1888.



